2: Stirling--111-112 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 857, 867

"Young children are very seldom disciplined, in spite of which, like most primitive children, they are very wellbehaved. The children, especially young boys, have almost complete liberty to do as they please. As they grow up the girls stay with the women and learn the various household duties which it is necessary for them to practice in earnest after they are married. Inasmuch as many girls[112] marry at 8 or 10 years of age they have very few years of childhood. Small boys play at hunting and fishing and accompany the men on their hunts at an early age. They are even brought on war expeditions by their fathers when as young as 7 and 8 years of age, for the purpose of becoming accustomed to fighting as soon as possible. The daily instructions a boy receives in warfare and in inculcating the idea of blood revenge in his mind has been described under the section dealing with warfare.(27)"

"27. See p. 41."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

7. Mashing chonta palm fruits with a wooden mortar and pestle preparatory to making chonta fruit beer. The metal cup is the author's (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

273
415
291
516
462
• 857
177
123
285

/p. 90-E/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči auk* ("child swallowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe dietary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemă* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing, from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to depend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp. 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any, while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only duty.

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay.

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blowgun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts.

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their